/120 cont./
the simplest possible form. Three rocks provide the lateral support or stand for the pots, of which there are two at most, a metal one, usually of aluminum, and an earthen one. Very poor families have only one earthen pot, which is relatively cheap to buy. The earthen pot cannot be hung up; it is set between the three fire-stones in such a way that it cannot tip over, whereas the aluminum pot is hung by its handle on a soot-covered, angled stick that hangs down from the ridge (Ill. 166 /see p. 273/). Above the fire area there hangs a frame made of maize canes and about one square meter in size, on which household utensils and, above all, the rock salt for salting food are stored, airy and dry. Tables, chairs, or stools of any kind are unknown. One generally sits on the hairy side of an untanned and hence board-stiff cowhide, on which one also /121/ sleeps, or one sits on a beam, a block of wood, or a stone. Paez who have seen house furnishings in Inzá or in the dwellings of white colonists have sometimes built for themselves as a bed a sort of bench 30-50 centimeters high, consisting of sticks or reeds laid side by side. For sleeping the customary cowhide is spread on it. These sleeping benches are not used for sitting.

The nights in Calderas are generally quite cool, and the light construction of the walls with cracks between the individual maize stalks does not in any way prevent the cold wind from coming in. In a few houses, near the sleeping area, I saw the walls sealed by means of expressed sugar-cane piled up horizontally. For sleeping, the members of the family lie down in a circle around the fire area, where the fire must be kept going all through the night. This, like all housework, is the task of the woman, who must gather sufficient fuel beforehand and get up every two hours during the night to stir up the fire. Furthermore, she must get up an hour earlier in the morning in order to have the first meal, which is eaten around five o'clock, sometimes even at four o'clock, prepared on time. In spite of this, the men think that they are the ones who do the hardest work and that basically they are the only ones in the village who really work.

/121 cont./

372 In case the fire should go out, which happens very rarely, the men, if they have no matches, know how to make fire by striking the blade of the iron machete with a stone and catching the sparks in the dry tinder of expressed sugar-cane. To fan this or a dying fire the hat is used as a fire fan, instead of a special fan. A few times I also saw a reed tube (yotá) about 50 centimeters long, which is blown into with the mouth and which thus acts like a bellows.

352 [854] [513] [286] Infants do not as a rule sleep on the floor, but in hammocks (máka), which, however, as the name indicates, were not originally Paez. Nevertheless all the men know how to make them out of agave fibers, which is done with the same knotting technique as in the manufacture of nets for bird hunting.

● 415 [286] Moreover, a few bags (yáha) made of agave fibers, which contain beans, maize, or other supplies, hang on the wall posts.

[353] [273] Arracacha lies on the floor. For drinking chicha, which is allowed to ferment in large, hollowed-out tree troughs, calabashes (tóka) are used, but they are plain and undecorated. Cracked calabashes are sewed with a waxed agave thread (Fig. 25 /see

[249] p.253/). The calabash gourd is grown in the house garden /122/

442 352 of every family; its meat is inedible. Furthermore, an oval or rectangular grindstone on which maize is ground with a smaller hand-stone is found in every household. It usually lies on the floor in a corner of the house, but sometimes it is set about one meter high on two forked posts.

412 415 264 [322] [177] Meals are taken with wooden spoons (todšá'tc) off of wooden plates (bič), which are carved by the Paez themselves (Fig. 27 /see p. 253/). Aluminum or enamel bowls were rarely encountered in Calderas. Plates and mugs of aluminum were therefore always coveted gift articles, along with kitchen knives, needles, safety pins, matches, and salt.

356 515 Cleanliness within the house is surprisingly great, considering that the Paez wash their bodies but seldom and their hands only when they are "very dirty." This is the case when a person has been working in a burned field and has cleared away the sooty, burned tree trunks and the burned underbrush. The house

/124/

291 The men's trousers (calsón) have no pockets. On the aver-
294 age they reach to the calves. Generally they are very carefully sewed, either with purchased thread or with homemade, very fine yarn made of agave threads. In making them, as well as in the case of necessary repair work, all the edges are very carefully bound.

The men's ruana (atç) is generally square, with a side edge of 100 to 160 centimeters. It is sewed together out of two equally wide, rectangular panels, with a slit about 20 centimeters long left open in the center as a neck opening. Because of its square shape the ruana may be worn just as well with the neck-opening crosswise.

285 Whereas shoes or sandals are not used by the Paez, men,
462 women, and children wear the same type of straw hats (śwá).
293 These are plaited, however, only by the men and boys. The
415 dress of both sexes is completed by two or three of the colored
291 woolen coca bags, in which, on journeys, the necessary personal articles are also carried.

291 The garments of the women's clothing consist of wool and
294 are woven by the women themselves. In general the quality and
286 fineness of the women's fabrics are significantly greater than that of the men's woven fabrics. The boys' and young men's fabrics are generally the coarsest, woven with a rather thick spun thread. Decorative strips of a different color within the fabric are found chiefly in the women's clothing, but not infrequently also in that of the men, especially in the ruanas. The absolutely necessary basic clothing of the women consists of skirt and upper garment. Both are worn in such a way that the warp threads run crosswise. The skirt (atytól) is a very wide, tubular garment, whose diameter may amount to 150 centimeters and more, with a length (in the weaving state this corresponds to the width!) of about 80 centimeters. It is worn in such a way that the front part is tight, while the back side falls in numerous folds. It is fastened at the height of the hips with a woman's colored belt, and its upper edge is folded down somewhat over the belt.

/133 cont./

264 food and bean leaves as the worst. They eat together. The family sits around the fire and the woman serves. They do not, however, eat out of the large cooking pot, which is usually of clay, though sometimes of aluminum, but rather the soup is dipped out with a wooden ladle into shallow bowls, from one of which the men, that is to say, the father and sons, eat, and the mother, daughters, and small children eat out of another one. Above the fire area a few small pieces of rock salt hang in a small pouch or lie on a rack and are used to salt the food after it is cooked. To do this each one takes the piece of salt and holds it or puts it in his plate until the soup is sufficiently salted.

252 262 In the following, a few dishes: 1) maize flour, ground on the oval or rectangular grindstone with a hand-stone, is cooked with beans and cabbage; 2) vegetable bananas with beans and arracacha; 3) green ears of maize with beans (wood ashes are added to every maize dish, in order to make the maize tender more quickly); 4) green ears of maize with white cabbage; 5) white cabbage, arracacha, and potatoes; 6) beans and vegetable bananas; 7) only beans and maize flour; 8) arracacha and beans. Eggs are either boiled hard in the shell in a pot, or the egg is beaten with a spoon in a dish, water and onions are added, and the whole is cooked. All foods are cooked in a large pot as soup; only ears of maize roasted in a bowl /Schale, "bowl, shell, husk"/ (wáts; Spanish arepa) are an exception. Meat is only boiled, never roasted; they eat the meat of cattle, sheep, and pigs, as well as poultry and guinea pigs, but not horse meat. If horses die, the carcasses are devoured by dogs.

/134/ c) Means of Enjoyment

273 276 The two most important pleasures for the Paez, as for the cultures of the entire Andean area, are coca and chicha. Tobacco plays a subordinate role.

1: Nachtigall --57 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15
Colombia SC1

P /135 cont./
276 exchange for brandy, wheat, or maize (for exchange and barter
249 rates, see "Trade" /see pp. 92-94 /). Within the family each
437 one harvests for himself as many leaves as he happens to need;
otherwise the father of the family usually barters for the entire
family. Harvest time is throughout the year (Ill. 174 /see
P p. 277 /).

276 Before use the leaves are roasted in a clay bowl and then
276 carried around in the colored wool pouch (kwatandyáha), together
317 with a small calabash containing lime. The lime (kwatánd) is
● [415] obtained from limestone (kwatandkwát) which crops out at vari-
ous places throughout the region and which men and women look
for as it is needed, or the husband sends his wife to fetch a few
stones. These pieces of limestone are put in a vigorously fanned
fire for two hours, /136/ then in a clay bowl, and cold water is
P poured over them. After that the cracked stone is pounded to
276 powder. To enjoy it, one takes a handful of leaves out of his
pouch and puts them in the mouth and chews them for a while,
until the lime can be added. Care must be taken that neither the
tongue nor lips come in contact with the lime. Beginners press
the coca mash flat against their tongues with their gums and
sprinkle a pinch of lime from the pear-shaped, absolutely un-
adorned calabash (kwatandóka) upon it; practiced coca-chewers
take a pinch of lime on the back of the hand between thumb and
index finger and toss it into the open mouth with a flourish. The
green saliva copiously produced is partly spat out, but most of
P it is swallowed. In the case of old people it often runs out of the
C mouth and drips on the clothing (Ill. 179 /see p. 280 /).

276 According to my experiences among the Paez and the
P coca-chewing Colombian workers, the harmful effect of coca
C seems to be exaggerated in most of the studies on the subject.
276 Of interest, however, are the data of C. Gutiérrez Noriega (1952),
146 who investigates the psychological and physiological effect of
273 taking coca, especially among the Peruvian Indios. There, in
the region of the greatest coca consumption, two to four kilo-
grams per person and year, the daily amount of food for a worker
is only about 2,000 calories per day. With a simultaneous drinking
of brandy and an inadequate diet, physical and mental consequences

/138 cont./

249 In chicha production for festive days it is customary for
407 the mill to be turned only by human power, by men or women.
461 One could generally observe that the slightly intoxicated men
273 exerted themselves only a short time in each case and were then relieved by the more sober acting women, who -- with their children on their backs -- showed remarkable endurance at this physically quite hard work.

407 Almost every father of a family and houseowner makes his
335 sugar mill himself, or a neighbor helps. There are no profes-
[412] sional carpenters. With an ax (swéla) and a foxtail saw (serúčo) the cylinders are sawed from a tree trunk and crudely smoothed. The cylinders thus prepared are provided with a small hole in the center, from the base and upper side, and are clamped horizontally, by means of pegs, between two posts rammed into
[413] the ground and held together with a rope. Then with a gauge (regla), which consists of a board with thorns, the distances between the pegs are precisely incised on the revolving drum.

273 The sugar cane is put through the crushing cylinders
[249] several times by the workers, one squatting on either side, until
[516] the juice, which is caught in a wooden tub or in calabash vessels,
[415] is pressed out (Ill. 175 /see p. 278/). It is first vigorously heated and then put in a large horizontally positioned tree-trough (kánoa) up to five meters long, in which there must always be a little chicha to begin with (Ill. 165 /see p. 273/). It is stirred up with the old chicha in the trough, the kánoa is covered with banana leaves, and already the next morning the chicha is ready to be drunk. As time goes on the chicha becomes ever stronger in alcoholic content. By noon of the same day it is already strong enough to distill brandy from it. If one does not do this, /139/ some water must be added the next day to dilute it. If this is not done, the chicha is neither drunk nor is new sugar-cane juice added, whereupon it becomes sour and bitter after four or five days and strongly sears the throat. There are also "gourmets" among the Paez, however, who let the chicha go on fermenting, untouched, for up to three weeks and only then drink it so sharp and sour.

/153 cont./

286 [177] The hammock (máka), as the Spanish name already indicates, is a borrowed article and not generally distributed in the Andean cultures. Among the Paez it is used only for children. Its dimensions, with 100 meshes, are about 100 by 100 centimeters. It is hung up with agave or horsehair ropes, which are looped through the upper and lower rows of meshes and then tied to house posts.

• [415] The berry sieves (tása) are present in almost every household. They are about 30-60 centimeters in diameter and are stretched inside a round wooden frame. The meshes are formed by means of the "fishnet knot" (Fig. 34d /see p. 256 /). This draws together very closely and is then scarcely recognizable in its structure.

283 The sling (ísut) is made with various techniques. For its manufacture the dried fibers of the agave leaf are used just as they are obtained when the leaf is stripped. A knot is made at the tip of the bundle of fibers, and it is then divided into two parts. Both are turned by hand in the same direction and then twined by rotation in the opposite direction. This produces /154/ -- conditioned by the naturally thickening material -- a two-strand rope of steadily increasing strength. Since it is twisted only by hand, it threatens to lose its tightness with greater thickness. Hence, after about 50 centimeters, the hank is divided into three parts and plaited for about the same length in the manner of a three-strand braid.

286 284 To make the net for holding the sling stone (Fig. 29 /see p.255 /), the three plaiting strands are divided into seven strands which, in each case, are separated from the plaited part by a simple finger knot. From each of these knots two double strands continue, which, put diagonally, are tied together by a double finger knot.

The length of the net part is about 20 centimeters. At its end it changes back to a three-strand braid by way of a simple finger knot. It should be noted in this connection that the middle strand at the beginning of the braid is caught in the threads of an adjacent knot. This prevents the plaiting from loosening up as it goes into the net and losing its tightness. The same

/162/

386 The following colors are produced with vegetable dyes: red
824 (mbe; also the color designation for pink, ocher, brown) with the roots of a plant called béwoetse. (According to Hernandez, this is the Rubiaceae Relbunium hypocarpium.) The wool threads are boiled with these roots for about an hour and they are then put in the sun. For blue coloring (séin; light blue = séin-séin) the threads are boiled with the leaves of the indigo tree for an hour; for green coloring (oálye séin; oálye = species of bird with green feathers, thus literally "oálye blue"), with the leaves of the tamp tree; and for yellow coloring (škĩtc), with the leaves of the mũzec tree. The results of the dyeing are not always uniform. There are always deviations in the color. With a little experience, however, one can differentiate them from the purchased chemical dyes.

h) Pottery

323 The art of pottery is very little developed among the Paez and is essentially limited to larger or smaller, crudely fashioned, spherical-shaped pots (mĩtc) with a lip slightly curved outward. In use they are not hung up, but placed between the three hearthstones for cooking. Smaller, shallower bowls serve for roasting
[531] the coca leaves. There are no vessels with handles. There is no ornamentation of any kind, neither painting, nor incising, nor
[415 531 824] finger imprints. For drinking chicha or for fetching water only gourd calabashes (tõka) are used, which are exactly as unadorned and purely functional as the ceramic vessels.

323 463 The making of pots is a specialist's work. In Calderas there are three potters, two of whom are women. Only one of them, however, Santos Kiskue, works to keep a supply, whereas the other two make pots only on order. Santos Kiskue is about 40 years old and has a wife and four living children; four others
[437] are dead. He has a horse, but no cow and no sheep. The latter he can do without, since he barters his pots chiefly for wool.

The technique of pottery among the Paez is a spiral coil technique. Since the shapes are very simple, a special

/167 cont./

484 while the /168/ woman on foot lugs the goods behind. From
439 Calderas more men than women visit the market. For both it
482 is a very welcome occasion to become intoxicated. The
[273] owners of the taverns try to prevent the stealing of the much
[275] coveted beer and whiskey glasses, popularly practiced by the Paez, by chaining the glasses to the tavern tables.

On market days it is customary to leave very early and to transport the loads in the fiber bags in the customary way: the men take the carrying belt diagonally across their chests and the women hold it with their foreheads. In both cases the bag hangs on their backs. Then generally travel in groups of twos or threes, but not infrequently one also meets solitary
[432] individuals. Provisions are taken along, for, as a matter of
[273] principle, nothing is bought on the way except chicha or brandy.
[485] If it is necessary to stay overnight, nothing is paid for this. They sleep either at the entrance of a house of acquaintances or spend the night in the open field.

439 For traveling and for the visit to the market they try to wear
484 at least one article of European clothing, a felt hat, a shirt, or
[291] a blouse. The quality plays only a minor role, since the worst
[177] shirt is still more desirable than the finest ruana. A person who cannot buy anything in the way of clothing at least ties a black
[262] band around his hat, such as the felt hats have. Provisions are carried along in the fiber bag, roasted maize, cabbage, potatoes,
[415] arracacha. A person who can carries with him two or three of
484 the woolen coca pouches, in one of which there is coca and lime,
461 in another one money, and in the third the plaiting material
[285] for the straw hat. Almost all the men do this plaiting work, which actually is not work at all, but more like a "blind occupation," when they have nothing else to do, either when visiting, on the way to market, or also during the shaman ceremonies.
[283] The women, no matter where one meets them, are equally in-
[285] dustrious and always busy with spinning or plaiting the fiber bags or the wool coca-pouches. Like the men, they carry their work material with them in a second wool pouch.

[284]
[413]
[RP3]

Fig. 25. Sewed gourd calabash.

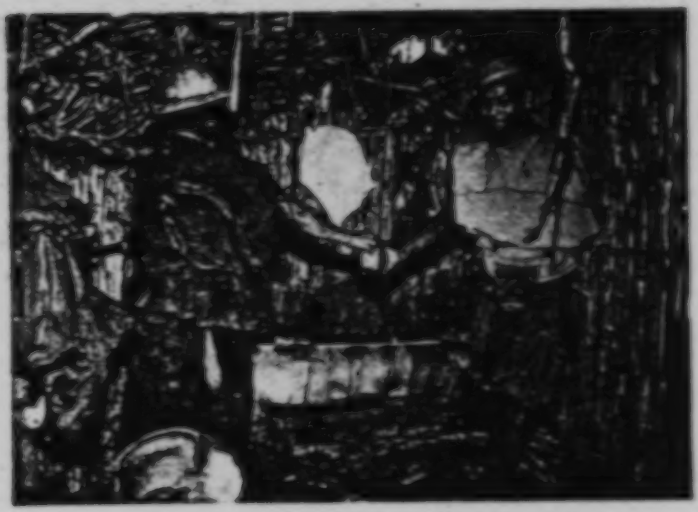
Fig. 26. Klaffka.

Fig. 27. Wooden plate and spoon.

/Figs. 1-24 on Plates III-X are omitted in the translation./

1: Nachtigall--273 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

353
415
291



Ill. 165. House annex with the chicha trough.

353
415
516
291

Ill. 166. Interior of a Paez house.

1: Nachtigall--277 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

XC

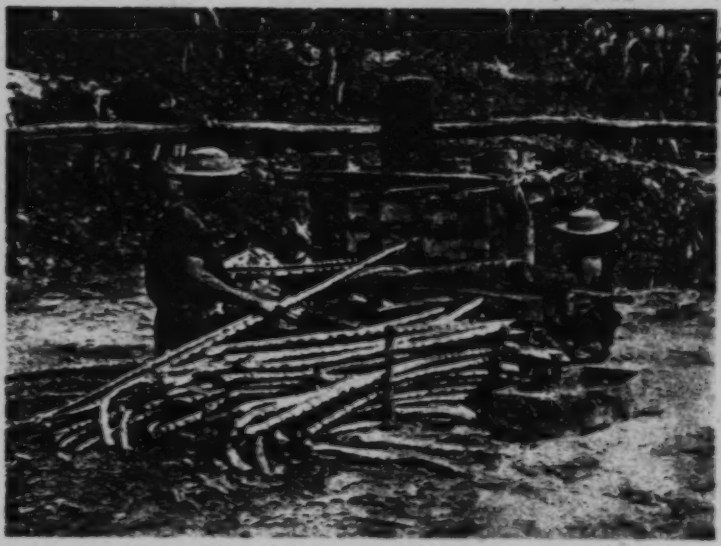
482
249
142
291
302
45

Ill. 173. Paez with sugar cane.

249
276

Ill. 174. Harvesting the coca leaves.

1: Nachtigall--278 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15



249
407

Ill. 175. Sugar mill in operation.

273
415
516
291

Ill. 176. Distillation apparatus.

1: Nachtigall--283 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

323

Ill. 185. Rolling out a "clay sausage."

415
273
276

Ill. 186. Types of Paez ceramics.

1: Nachtigall--289 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

142
252
412
415
516
291

Ill. 201. Grinding maize with the hand-grindstone.

533
534
291

Ill. 202. Calderun music group.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

They represent the primitive type of habitation, the agglomerations being the result of the efforts of the missionaries. 342 [177]

The villages are generally in the open grazing districts at the bottom of the valleys, on side plateaus, or on broad ridges. They are not compact in the common sense of the word, but consist of isolated groups of houses, the approximate common center of which is often indicated by the whitewashed thatch-roofed church (plate v). 361

The walls of the permanent houses are made of a kind of *bajareque*, i. e., a skeleton of canes filled in with clay. In the better homes the interior is divided into two or more rooms, usually very small, with a hearth in the middle; but oftener there are no interior partitions, the dwelling consisting of a single square apartment. In every case that came under my observation the interior was very untidy. 342 353 [354] [356]

The Indians openly objected to our entering their houses, hence I could gain only casual glimpses of their domiciles, the furnishing of which seems to be an imitation of that of the dwellings of the few Spanish people living among them or in the immediate neighborhood. 352 123 177

Outside the houses they generally have a cane-crusher of primitive type, with horizontal smooth cylinders moved by means of levers at each end. A loom and a grinding stone are also seen occasionally under an adjacent shelter (plates IV, 1, and VI). 2 407 286 412

There may often be seen, either about or inside the housse, very large jars used as receptacles in the elaboration of the chicha. These utensils seem to be almost the only survival of the ancient earthenware industry. The smaller pottery vessels which were seen occasionally had been taken from old graves. 415 [192]

Each group of houses, in which several generations of a single family dwell, is surrounded by a small enclosed field, planted with sugar-cane, plantains, oranges and other fruits, and greens and roots of daily use. The garden enclosure is formed by a ditch, inside of which is a wooden fence or a stone wall, the latter often crowned by a hedge of maguey (*Furcraea*), lechero (*Euphorbia*), borrachero (*Solanum*), and other bushes. 351 [592] [247]

1 [See plate facing P. 317 — Analyst]

2 [See plate facing P. 320 — Analyst]

/286 cont./

291 the waist, and over it a rebozo or shawl of foreign make; they wear hats of masculine manufacture. They carry a thin stick
283 one meter long more or less, called kasguat, held under the left armpit, and at its upper end there is a bundle of wool to be spun, a task which they do at any time, while walking or sitting in the house, regardless of whether a child is resting on their backs or, when they are walking along the road, a heavy
301 load. Only the women wear ornaments consisting of multicolored necklaces, earrings, and sometimes rings.

293 Both men and women usually carry three woolen pouches,
415 aside from others of fique, a very small one for money, a larger one for mambe /coca and lime for chewing/, and the third, which is the largest of all and holds the other two, is used to carry palm leaves or the plaited work made with them for the men, and other things for the women.

276 Coca.--All the Paez are "mambe chewers," men, women,
[461] and children, regarding coca as an article that gives strength,
[261] frees one from laziness, and mitigates hunger. Without it, of
[273] course, they will not work. Coca and chicha, fermented sugar-
[262] cane juice, play the role of real foods, given their starchy and scant diet.

631 Parcialidades and cabildos.--Politically, the Indians are
621 organized into parcialidades, each headed by a cabildo made up of a gobernador and substitute, a major alcalde and another minor one, two alguaciles, three fiscales, a comisario, a capitán, and a síndico elected each year and put in office by the respective alcaldías of the municipio, except for the last two, who are named for life and put in office by the /287/ Church. Their functions are administrative and police work, but in reality they exercise functions of social, legal, and religious control.

631 The parcialidades are bounded by the craggy peaks and the deep, rugged beds of the streams and rivers in such a way that each one circumscribes specific kinds of geography, and even of

4:Bernal Villa--24 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

VII

The Milling, the Chicha and the Chicha-makers

It remains to be said that the fiesta begins with the milling. Although it is common to use a horse to operate the sugar mill, it is more usual at fiesta time to move it with human arms, masculine or feminine. It makes no difference. The two laborers for the milling squat on either side of the sugar mill, and one hands over the cane while the other receives the bagasse, which is piled up at one side to be handed back again; this is done up to 12 times in order to extract as much juice as possible. The millers do their work in silence when they are not drunk; while they do it with diligence, there is relaxation, laughter, shouts, and imprecations when they are under the influence of alcohol.

The juice is gathered in troughs, or less frequently in calabashes and pots; it is heated to near the boiling point and then emptied into the troughs, in which, inasmuch as they are well "cured," fermentation is rapid. The troughs are made of huge tree trunks that reach up to one meter and 50 centimeters in thickness and four or five meters in length. As they are depleted through consumption, they are refilled with fresh cane juice. The troughs are covered with small mats made exclusively for the purpose. On the following day it is bubbly, yellowish, with a pungent, sweetish flavor. It is the beka pes (strong chicha) of the natives, who drink it with relish and delight. Five gourdfuls of this liquor are sufficient to make them drunk. Elsewhere called guarapo, while the Paez call it chicha, it is of great importance in their social life and diet. With its help the religious fiestas gain meaning, the mingas are carried out, baptisms and weddings are made more pleasant, and visitors are entertained.

Work without chicha is inconceivable, and while they work they get no food whatever; they merely drink chicha and chew

4:Bernal Villa--25 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/195 cont./

coca. Chicha thus provides the calories for work, while coca dulls the feeling of hunger. The consumption of chicha is general among men and women, old people and children. There is no household without chicha for any length of time. And during the short lapses when it runs low, they buy it or visit the households that have some. Among friends it is not sold, but given as regalement: /196/ "talking, laughing, regaling," as the Indians accurately describe the situation.

Milling for the fiestas takes place daily and is in direct proportion to the number of visitors. Milling for the mingas lasts two days, one week for baptisms, and up to a month for weddings.

The largest containers for chicha are the troughs, but use is also made of pitchers and large earthenware pots buried in the ground up to their rims.

The chicha-makers are the absolute masters of the troughs while they are fulfilling their function. They distribute the chicha, and even the fiestero himself must ask them for the amount desired. No one takes chicha without their consent. Furthermore, they accept the gifts which the visitors give to the fiestero. The latter merely voices his thanks. Although they keep taking chicha, they do not get drunk, so as to perform their task properly. They will have their day when they can do so.

VIII

Sugar-cane Aguardiente

At fiesta time, aguardiente is distilled every two or three days. The distillation is quite easy. The still is prepared in the following way:

A good-sized earthenware pot, 50 to 60 centimeters high and 25 to 30 centimeters in diameter, is filled with guarapo

4:Bernal Villa--26 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/196 cont./

273 415 fermented for two days, mixed with anise, dill, cloves, cinnamon, anisillo, and bitopiskue. Sometimes verbena is also added. It rests on three stones which make up the hearth. Over the edges of this pot, and with the interstices filled with a paste of ashes to avoid any loss of steam, is put another pot of regular size: 30 centimeters high and 20 centimeters in diameter. Inside this one is put an ovoid wooden bowl, grooved, with a handle likewise grooved, which is connected to a reed tube that runs through the pot at mid-height, and through which the aguardiente runs into the containers (liters /litros/ and bottles). The base of this pot is pierced to permit the guarapo steam to go through. Above this pot is placed a copper pan about 15 centimeters high and 30 centimeters in diameter; the junctures are covered with a paste of ashes. On this pan there falls a continuous jet of cold water brought from the outside through a bamboo channel; the surplus comes out through a /197/ /illustration appears here/ reed tube set in an opening near the rim. When this fall of water is not feasible, the women undertake to change constantly the warm water for cold.

Stills of this kind distill approximately 15 liters.

The amounts of the ingredients are as follows:

Guarapo, two-thirds of the container.

Anise, three eggs /a measure; see footnote 1, p. 9/ (from Silvia or Neiva).

Dill, approximately 1 pound.

Anisillo (an aromatic herb), one egg.

Bitopiskue (a pungent herb), approximately half a pound.

Cloves, ten centavos (one ounce).

/198/ Cinnamon, ten centavos (one ounce).

273 784 The distillation has nothing mysterious about it, although it does have its precautions. Anyone can be present, but no one can say "venda" /bandage/, because the distillation would not produce anything. If someone goes out, he must do so in silence, but preferably he should not go out, because he will

4:Bernal Villa--28 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/198 cont./

IX

The Wax Comes from the Woodlands

796 Before the fiestero goes to stay in the pueblo, the laborers make the candles and distill the aguardiente while the fireworks-maker produces the firecrackers and rockets.

388 124 The candles are made with the wax of the wild laurel (1)

1. Myrica pubescens Willd.

recently extracted from seeds gathered months earlier from the bushes in the woodlands. Laurel, of course, is a shrub with lanceolate leaves, which grows wild in the clearings after the harvest. During the months of April and May the branches are heavy with lead-colored and tiny seeds very similar in form to the fruit of the coffee tree. They are a favorite food of the wild pigeons, and for this reason, while they are ripening, the owner, or preferably his children, constantly frightens them [756] away. This is a reinforcement of the magic protection supplied [789] by the medicine man at the suggestion of the owner of the woodland. He has performed the exorcism to frighten away the unwanted birds: he has loaded his shotgun with chayuts (2) and

2. Escrofulareacea.

shot at the pigeons. They will not return.

[415] The seeds are gathered in fique bags. Ten workers gather approximately one arroba in one day. /199/ For the period of one month the seeds will be left to dry, scattered in a corner of the house, so that the wax will come out white and not green as would happen if this were not done.

388 To extract the wax, the seeds are packed into small sacks or bags, boiled, and pressed at once. The wax falls with the hot water into a round container; on the following day, the water that remains at the bottom of the container is removed, and the wax is left to solidify further.

4:Bernal Villa--31 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/200 cont./

XI

Gourd Vessels and Etiquette

● 415 554 273 There are three types of gourd vessels in which chicha is distributed and whose traditional order of use reflects hierarchy, majority, and high status; some gourd vessels are used for all those present, of both sexes and all ages; others, only for a specific class of people.

[192] The first type is small with an ovoid opening, made of half a gourd. In the Paez dialect it is called shup /201/ /illustration appears here/ shachi. All visitors, without distinction as to sex, age, or status, are presented with two matés of this type: the first one contains "strong water" to quench thirst, while the second contains chicha, the authentic strong chicha.

The second type of container is the shachi pitán (gourd-vessel capitan), of greater capacity than the first, ovoid in shape, and open at one end. The most respected persons of both sexes, adults and elders, are given chicha in these gourd vessels, /202/ after taking it from the shup shachi. They indicate a certain deference on the part of the host, and by the same token he wishes them to get drunk. Those who are favored with these gourds offer them to all present, who take them, taste the contents, and return them to the hands of the owner. The shachi pitán has gone from mouth to mouth, but the contents remain practically untouched; the owner is to drink it.

The laborers and mayordomos who are in his service, the albacero, the síndico /trustee/, and the highly respected elders, after having received chicha in the shup shachi and in the shachi pitán, receive a larger gourd vessel in which there is a tiny one (shachi léchukue), which is called suilté. The presentation of this has an etiquette of its own. The host comes out with the suilté in his hands, fills the shachi léchukue with

/202 cont./

415 chicha, and hands it to a person favored and respected by him;
554 the latter takes it, drinks from it, and returns the small gourd;
273

133
291

415 then he is given the quilté. In turn, he fills the small gourd and
554 gives it to the man who presented it to him. Then he distributes
273 the chicha among all those present, beginning with the adults,

4:Bernal Villa--33 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/202 cont./
415 men first and then women, and ending with the children of both
554 sexes. No one is left without a share.
273

XII

The Cleaning of the Church

346 The so-called church of Calderas, a masonry structure, is a dilapidated old building, long and tall, with a two-slope thatched roof and a hemispherical bell tower supported by four beams set into the ridgepiece. Only the front of four columns with cornices and semicircular arches which form an antechamber lends the whole a certain charm.

346 What is called the cleaning of the church is the removal
794 of a few weeds that grow in the pavement in front of it and
796 clearing a line that encircles a small plaza. The task is minimal, but it is always performed. The act is symbolic more than anything else; what matters is the meeting of the fiesteros with their respective albaceros and laborers; an occasion for taking care of the albacero, an opportunity for merriment, talk, jokes, and even games.

Some 12 days before the fiesta and on a Thursday, accompanied by the cabildo, music, and firecrackers, the fiestero leaves his house and goes to occupy one in the pueblo. He takes /203/ along the bull that will be sacrificed on the following day. Two days later, that is to say, on Monday, the cleaning of the church is carried out. On rare occasions [202] it is done on a Wednesday. The ringing of bells announces the invitation and later tells the people that the cleaning is over, whereupon they drink the two calabashes of chicha which each fiestero has brought; the firecrackers are set off; "the albacero has earned a meal," they say, and deserves the honors of the table. The fiestero will take care of him with

6: Bernal Villa--103 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

407
249
415

Tierradentro IX: Sugar mill of wood and the milling (Togoima).

142
291
286
415
516
293

Tierradentro X: Indian woman of Mosoco "mambe-ing" /chewing coca and lime/ and weaving a kuetand yaha (pouch) for mambe). She is a té eu of the parcialidad.

6: Bernal Villa--105 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

142
291
293
531
415

Tierradentro XI. Indian of Calderas, showing the typical manner of wearing the kneeband yaha and the yahas (fique pouches). In the background, the Parque Arqueológico of Tierradentro.

?:Hernández de Alba E-54(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The main subsistence of these tribes was and still is based on the cultivation of potatoes, which grow in great quantities in the higher portions of the territory known as Tierradentro, and maize, which is acclimated to the temperate and cold zones. There are three varieties of maize: sweet, soft, and hard. Additional crops were and are yuca or manioc, sweet potatoes, auyamas, ullucos, purutos, frijoles, arracacha, and various other vegetables, and a variety of fruits, including bananas, guayavas, avocados, papayas, [178] pineapples, and passion fruit. Today the *Pdez* and *Moguez* are be- [433] ginning to grow wheat, coffee, which is an important item in their [273] economy, and sugarcane, from which is made a coarse sugar and molasses for their fermented drink, guarapo.

241 The men and women of each family generally cultivate the family 476 plot, but for large-scale maize or coffee planting, and for cultivation of the lands of the Church or saint, they work communally, and have meetings called "mingas." Communal work for any particular [782] individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense. The [273] beneficiary must feed his helpers, generally sacrificing a pig and preparing great quantities of chicha for the libations and nocturnal dances after the work. All adults must participate in working the Church lands, but each brings his own food.

241 Implements of cultivation are the digging stick, or macana, for 412 making holes for planting, machetes and axes for destroying vege- 407 tation, and picks and shovels for removing earth, except where re- 492 placed by plows pulled by animal traction.

231 **Domesticated animals.**—Domesticated animals include chickens, [177] turkeys, some pigs, dogs, and a few horses and cows. All but the turkeys are of European origin. These animals are rarely sold or killed for food, except for feast days, magical ceremonies, meetings, [438] and visits of relatives, friends or distinguished White men. But [251] sometimes the Indians buy meat in the weekly market and hang it over the hearth, where it is preserved by the smoke.

574 A custom which has persisted since the beginning of the Colonial 431 Period is that of always giving a guest the "camarico" or "cariño" (affection), a present varying from an egg to a chicken, together with some potatoes, vegetables, and coffee beans.

262 Formerly, meat was obtained from wild rather than domesticated 136 animals—boars (zaínos), guaras, guatines, birds, and guinea pigs, the 231 last being true domesticated animals kept in some numbers in the native houses.

252 **Food preparation.**—Food was cooked in pottery ollas, but metal and [415] enamel ware is now often used. The *Pdez* make "mute," a soup of [177] boiled maize, cabbage, squash, and potatoes, and "cocido," a soup

?:Hernández de Alba E-5 4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

of manioc, arracacha, potatoes, beans, sweet maize, and pieces of meat. Meat is sometimes roasted. Maize, the staple, is made into tortillas or soup, or is roasted on the ear. Coffee, much of which is consumed, is roasted in a pottery vessel, ground, and made into an infusion sweetened with coarse sugar.

Kitchen utensils include pottery ollas and vessels, and a footless elliptical stone metate with a central concavity, which lies directly on the floor or is supported on sticks driven in the soil. Meat is kept smoked over the fireplace, and other food is stored on shelves of cane woven into the roof sticks or in hanging hemp bags or gourds. Each gourd has a broad half-gourd suspended above it, open side down, so that a rat descending from above slides off the gourd onto the floor.

The first daily meal is taken at daybreak and consists of "mute." There is no noonday meal, but the evening repast resembles breakfast. Between meals, the Indians chew coca two or three times to sustain their strength and allay hunger. For refreshment and stimulation, they drink guarapo, carrying it to work in gourds.

They cultivate pepper (ají) for a condiment, but purchase salt in the weekly market. The latter is so scarce that instead of mixing it with food they pass a lump around, each person licking it. Before the Conquest, three salt deposits were exploited in this territory, the most important being that near the modern municipality of Belalcázar or Páez. Here the local chief had the salt water boiled down to obtain blocks of salt, which he traded with other tribes for diverse products, or with which he bought help in his wars against the neighboring *Pijao*. Sometimes he permitted other *Páez* to exploit the deposit. Near the present-day Indian center of Ricaurte on the Ullucos River is another salt works that was much used in ancient times, but today is abandoned. Another source of salt was at Huila, where, during the Conquest, the Indians ambushed the Spaniards who sought it, and killed their horses.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Each *Páez* and *Moguex* family has its own house, located on a point or flat place in the mountains some distance from its neighbors. The aboriginal house seems to have been rectangular, which still is the only form. It was so lightly constructed of cane and sticks with thatched roof that the Spanish soldiers during the foundation of San Vicente de Páez "carried some Indian houses to their barracks because they were small and suited to it" (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 9). Some distance from the dwelling, they always built a small woman's house. Under Spanish influence, some houses were divided into rooms, and built more solidly of "bahareque" construction, i. e., walls consisting of two faces of sticks with mud and rocks between (pl. 185).

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

342 [177] Some had wooden doors and windows, and were built with nails and wires, though most were still made with vegetable materials.

The modern *Moguex* house has two rooms. The main one, entered through a small door, serves as storeroom for goods to be sold, reception hall, dancing place, and a room in which to keep watch over the dead. The other is a pantry for provisions and drinks; here are kept [354] kitchen utensils. In the center is the fireplace and around it dried [352] cowhides or platform beds made of horizontal poles tied to stakes [476] driven in the ground. One's neighbors aid him to build his house, [461] transporting heavy timbers over light rollers and singing rhythmically as they heave together. If the owner of a new house is a man of [554] means, he pays for a feast of benediction or consecration carried out [778] with a Catholic priest, a godfather, and a godmother.

The *Páez* does all this and in addition puts some pieces of silver [352] money under his house to assure his good fortune. In the main house [415] he places the metate on stakes, and in a secondary house, the press [353] for extracting wax from laurel, one or more troughs or hollowed trunks, [354] and large jars for chicha and guarapo. From the roof frame hang bags, [524] or "mochilas," of netted hemp for belongings. There is also a bam- [283] boo candlestick, the wooden feast drum, sometimes a tiple or small guitar, and. nailed to the wall, a spindle. Outside the loom stands [404] against the wall Beyond it is the sugarcane mill, which is made of [286] a section of tree trunk with a hole above a projection on which the [249] cane is pressed by hand with a rod which crosses the hole. Some mills consist of two or three wooden cylinders rotated by animal power.

[243] In each maize field is a small, temporary house and a high platform [342] where a watchman frightens the parrots and parakeets with periodic cries and motions.

[177] Each *Páez* group today has its communally built pueblo, with [361] "bahareque" buildings grouped around a rectangular plaza: a church, with its arched portico and small tower in imitation of Colonial architecture, a house for the priest, a school, and two or three large houses for meetings and fiestas, where they dance, sing, and sleep during fiesta days. But ordinarily, the people remain at their distant houses and fields, and do not live at the pueblo, the only permanent inhabitants of which are a few Whites and Mestizos.

ENGINEERING WORKS

[491] [499] The Spaniards found bridges which they described as "weak and flexible bridges of bamboo" and "bridges of vines." A territory so broken and crossed with so many rivers and canyons naturally stimulated the *Páez* in the construction of bridges and the laying out of roads. Today they make four kinds of bridges: (1) A simple vine or cable stretched across the river; (2) a kind of wooden stairs placed

?:Hernández de Alba (?-5?) (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

291 177 They protect the upper part of the body with a black poncho tied at the belt, or a shirt with a poncho over it. Women wear two skirts, the under skirt being black and the outer one white or gray. Both are held at the waist by a sash woven with figures. They cover their busts with two blankets which are fastened at the shoulders with [293] wood, copper, or silver pins. Both sexes carry pouches woven of [415] hemp which, like these Indians, are called "guambías." Their straw hats are dish-shaped, with small brims hardly distinguishable from the shallow crowns. The hats, always too large for their heads, are held on by two cords, one passing under the chin and the other behind the neck, around the hair. The women also wear woolen shawls, silver earrings, rings, and heavy necklaces of glass, shells, and silver. For festivals they prefer hats with the brim divided into two parts, front and back. These are lined with dark-blue cloth, with red and yellow on the brim.

When working, the *Páez* wear short linen pants or long woolen ones and a large woolen poncho tied at the waist. When going to market, they wear an additional poncho and a woolen pouch for coca. When [292] traveling on the páramos, they wear a knit hemp cloak covered with large, thin leaves of *Gynerium saccharoides*, which protects them from the rain. The women wear a narrow woven cotton band, passed between the legs and tied at the waist, one, two, or more black or gray woolen skirts gathered at the waist and held by a woven sash, [482] and two small mantas, like those of the *Moguex*. In traveling, a [854] shawl is worn for covering and to carry the child. They adorn themselves also with strings or necklaces of glass or other beads, or white chaquiras, and sometimes are added silver pendants of Colonial origin. [292] During festivals the women wear brightly colored blouses of imported fabrics and the men linen shirts.

MANUFACTURES

285 **Basketry.**—The *Páez* and *Moguex* make a few twilled baskets of cane strips and two kinds of hats. The hats are woven with the coiled or sewed technique. The spiraled warp in one kind consists of a thin bundle of rush or straw, and in the other of a braid made with seven [462] strands. The latter is more common. Both are made by men who [292] prepare materials while resting at home or traveling on the road. Weaving also includes waterproof capes made by tying sheaves of [824] leaves or straw to a net of hemp cord.

283 **Cordage.**—Rope making is practiced extensively. Hemp (fique) is the raw material, and is made into cords for fishing nets, bird trap nets, bags or pouches for carrying belongings and products, foundation nets for the leaf rain capes, and cordage for various other purposes. The sisal or hemp (fique) leaves are scraped over the sharp edge of a board to loosen the fibers, which are then washed, dried, and twisted

142
291
516
142
291
302
142
291
516
142
291
301
515
?:Hernández de Alba E-5,4(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex
[p. 942 - H)

PLATE 192.—**Páez types.** *Top (left):* **Páez man, Tierradentro.** *Top (right):* **Woman with necklace and bags woven of wool and bast fibers, Calderas, Tierradentro.** *Bottom (left):* **Indians, Calderas, Tierradentro.** *Bottom (center):* **Indians, Calderas, Tierradentro.** *Bottom (right):* **Man at Inzá, Tierradentro.** (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

7:Hernández de Alba E-5, 1 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

with the right hand over the naked thigh. Two strands are similarly twisted together until the desired thickness is obtained.

Gourds.—Gourds are still widely used. They are picked when ripe, cleaned out, and dried. With small openings, they serve as containers for beverages and powdered lime. Some are made into bowls and others are cut up to make spoons. Today these objects are undecorated, but formerly in Timaná they were painted with a resin varnish very similar to that used in Pasto. (See p. 930.) Before the Spanish domination, gourds were also used as frames over which were stretched the prepared skin of the heads of their enemies killed in war.

Metallurgy.—The metallurgy of these Indians was the same as that practiced throughout most of Colombia. The metals were gold, copper, and an alloy of the two (tumbaga). It is recorded that the Indians "worked gold," but the processes are not described. Specimens found recently in the territory, however, show molding, casting, and hammering. Metal objects included nose ornaments, parrot-shaped breastplates, necklaces with small animal figures, and some anthropomorphic idols. Gold occurs in this territory, particularly on the upper Páez or the Suin River.

Ceramics.—These tribes made and still make coiled pottery. Modern vessel forms include large jars for storing beverages and poorly shaped, crudely decorated containers for preparing and serving food. There is no individual specialization in this task, women making pots for their own family and not for trade.

Stone and wooden artifacts.—The native Indians made stone axes of a simple design, but stonework disappeared during the time of colonization, when the Indians could obtain manufactured iron weapons and utensils such as machetes, axes, hoes, shovels, etc. The manufacture of wooden objects—weaving, cooking, and farming implements and weapons—was furthered by the use of metal tools, and now is well developed, as exemplified by the trapiche (cane mill), a true machine made of wood.

Weaving.—Weaving, little practiced before the Conquest, developed with the post-Contact need for wearing more clothes and with the introduction of sheep, whose wool was used in addition to cotton. Weaving was and is exclusively the work of women (pl. 186). They prepare fine, uniform yarn with a common spindle, which they handle as they walk along the road (pl. 187, *top*). The loom is vertical, made of two horizontal rods fastened to two uprights. The warp runs vertically with a continuous thread. The horizontal weft is pressed down with a wooden sword. They also weave hemp bands on the loom. Woolen blankets are woven in natural colors, but some sashes have bright colors made of imported wool or of home-dyed wool. For red, they use one of the Rubiaceae (*Relbunium hypocarpium*), and for